

greenanarchy@tao.ca

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Free to Prisoners!

HIT WHERE IT HURTS

BY TED KACZYNSKI

1. The Purpose Of This Article.

The purpose of this article is to point out a very simple principle of human conflict, a principle that opponents of the techno-industrial system seem to be overlooking. The principle is that in any form of conflict, if you want to win, you must hit your adversary where it hurts.

I have to explain that when I talk about "hitting where it hurts" I am not necessarily referring to physical blows or to any other form of physical violence. For example, in oral debate, "hitting where it hurts" would mean making the arguments to which your opponents position is most vulnerable. In a presidential election, "hitting where it hurts" would mean winning from your opponent the states that have the most electoral votes. Still, in discussing this principle I will use the analogy of physical combat, because it is vivid and clear.

If a man punches you, you can't defend yourself by hitting back at his fist, because you can't hurt the man that way. In order to win the fight, you have to hit him where it hurts. That means you have to go behind the fist and hit the sensitive and vulnerable parts of the man's body.

Suppose a bulldozer belonging to a logging company has been tearing up the woods near your home and you want to stop it. It is the blade of the bulldozer that rips the earth and knocks trees over, but it would be a waste of time to take a sledgehammer to the blade. If you spent a long, hard day working on the blade with the sledge, you *might* succeed in damaging it enough so that it became useless. But, in comparison with the rest of the bulldozer, the blade is relatively inexpensive and easy to replace. The blade is only the "fist" with which the bulldozer hits the

earth. To defeat the machine you must go behind the "fist" and attack the bulldozer's vital parts. The engine, for example, can be ruined with very little expenditure of time and effort by means well known to many radicals.

At this point I must make clear that I am not recommending that anyone should damage a bulldozer (unless it is his own property). Nor should anything in this article be interpreted as recommending illegal activity of any kind. I am a prisoner, and if I were to encourage illegal activity this article would not even be allowed to leave the prison. I use the bulldozer analogy only because it is clear and vivid and will be appreciated by radicals.

2. Technology Is The Target.

It is widely recognized that "the basic variable which determines the contemporary historic process is provided by technological development" (Celso Furtado*). Technology, above all else, is responsible for the current condition of the world and will control its future development. Thus, the "bulldozer" that we have to destroy is modern technology itself. Many radicals are aware of this, and therefore realize that their task is to eliminate the entire techno-industrial system. But unfortunately they have paid little attention to the need to hit the system where it hurts.

Smashing up McDonald's or Starbucks is pointless. Not that I give a damn about McDonald's or Starbucks. I don't care whether anyone smashes them up or not. But that is not a revolutionary activity. Even if every fast-food chain in the world were wiped out the techno-industrial system would suffer only minimal harm as a result, since it could easily survive without fast-food chains. When you

attack McDonald's or Starbucks, you are not hitting where it hurts.

Some months ago I received a letter from a young man

in Denmark who believed that the techno-industrial system had to be eliminated because, as he put it, "What will happen if we go on this way?" Apparently, however, his form of "revolutionary" activity was raiding fur farms. As a means of weakening the techno-industrial system this activity is utterly useless.



Even if animal liberationists succeed in eliminating the fur industry completely they would do no harm at all to the system, because the system can get along perfectly well without furs.

I agree that keeping wild animals in cages is intolerable, and that putting an end to such practices is a noble cause. But there are many other noble causes, such as preventing traffic accidents, providing shelter for the homeless, recycling, or helping old people cross the street. Yet no one is foolish enough to mistake these for revolutionary activities, or to imagine that they do anything to weaken the system.

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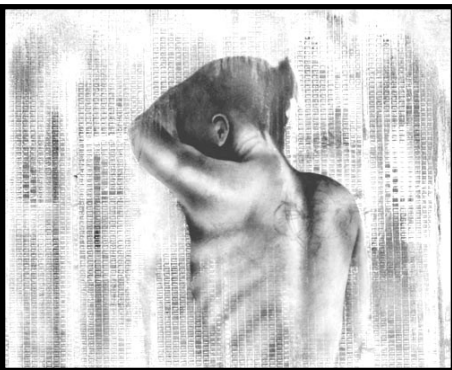
TOWARDS A COMPLETELY "WIRELESS" SOCIETY BY DAISY CHUNG

It's 2002, and humanity continues on its odyssey. No, it's definitely not 1984 - it's worse because it is real.

On November 26th, 2001, the world discovered that a human embryo was successfully cloned for the first time. While there were some reactions of disgust and horror, the overriding feeling was that this was a great accomplishment, a cause for celebration. In an effort to discredit all opposition, supporters said that this new development will help to fight and find cures for diseases, implicating compassion and humanitarianism in the rhetoric. They told the public not to worry, that these were giant steps for human kind.

Everyday, a new concoction is formulated behind the walls of laboratories, attempting to erase millions of years of evolution. Today, one can own genetic material, clone dead Fido, build robots that have names and perform human tasks (like surgery), live "normal" lives without leaving their homes so long as they have a computer. These advances may seem harmless; one can "choose" to live within techno-society or not. However, the reality is not so simple. Technology does not stand idly by until someone "chooses" to use it; rather, it constantly turns its own wheels, colliding with every scope of life. Furthermore, the belief that technology is bad only when it is used for evil is pretty laughable. To say that a car can exist without bombs, to say that your computer can exist without a system of oppression of domination, is to miss the point that technology critics have stated time and time again: technology is not neutral. Scarily enough, this is not a conspiracy, or a science-fiction novel, or the creation of a few madmen. Developments in science and technology are growing quickly, just as the unrelenting faith in the promises of progress in both fields.

This past summer, the movie "A.I." was just a propaganda flick to win the hearts and (unthinking) minds of the public over the robotics issue. The movie is nothing but emotional non-sense over the discrimination of robots that act and feel like real human beings (probably because they were human actors). Using the story of a robot "boy" whose only desire was for a mother's love, "A.I." told mass audiences that they should accept robots into society, and if they didn't, they were not only cruel and immoral, but also narrow-minded. It was so biased



that one could think that Hans Moravec himself wrote the script. Moreover, it also asserted the existence of robots in the future as predestined, something that humans must deal with. The only good thing that came out of it was that it was so horrible and melodramatic, it was hardly convincing.

But let me not lose sight of what I ultimately wish to say. This is my plea now for all of those who work for social justice, but neglect the technology issue, or embrace it for a post-scarcity future. By disregarding it, you ignore coltan miners in the Congo, sweatshop workers in Caribbean, farmers in India, your own interests as a human being. By disregarding it, you put yourself and the whole world in perpetual peril (just take one look at the environmental disasters of the 20th century alone, created by both capitalist and communist nations) until there is nothing to save. One must ask these important questions: where will we dump toxic waste? Who will toil in the factories? Should there be factories? What has more worth, a refrigerator or a tree? Technology cannot exist without some of the most vital components that characterize capitalism, and I hope that our goal is to expurgate every little facet of capitalism, everything that we loathe, everything unjust about the world. Those working for social justice cannot overlook one of the core roots of oppression.

The earth and its inhabitants today are deeply injured. Life itself is in jeopardy. Technology may find some temporary solutions, but bandages only hide the wounds. Re-infection is imminent.

And as a note for those of you who are content with flushing everything away through your toilets and making problems conveniently disappear, go ahead and clone your poor dead poodle. But one day, a million tired feet will make sure to trample on it.

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HIT WHERE IT HURTS BY TED KACZYNSKI

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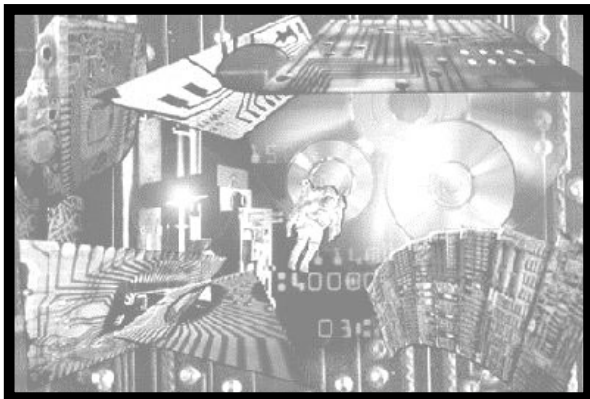
3. The Timber Industry Is A Side Issue.

To take another example, no one in his right mind believes that anything like real wilderness can survive very long if the techno-industrial system continues to exist. Many environmental radicals agree that this is the case and hope for the collapse of the system. But in practice all they do is attack the timber industry.

I certainly have no objection to their attack on the timber industry. In fact, it's an issue that is close to my heart and I'm delighted by any successes that radicals may have against the timber industry. In addition, for reasons that I need to explain here, I think that opposition to the timber industry should be one component of the efforts to overthrow the system.

But, by itself, attacking the timber industry is not an effective way of working against the system, for even in

the unlikely event that radicals succeeded in stopping all logging everywhere in the world, that would not bring down the system. And it would not permanently save wilderness. Sooner or later the political climate would change and logging would resume. Even if logging never resumed, there would be other venues



through which wilderness would be destroyed, or if not destroyed then tamed and domesticated. Mining and mineral exploration, acid rain, climate changes, and species extinction destroy wilderness; wilderness is tamed and domesticated through recreation, scientific study, and resource management, including among other things electronic tracking of animals, stocking of streams with hatchery-bred fish, and planting of genetically-engineered trees.

Wilderness can be saved permanently only by eliminating the techno-industrial system, and you cannot eliminate the system by attacking the timber industry. The system would easily survive the death of the timber industry because wood products, though very useful to the system, can if necessary be replaced with other materials.

Consequently, when you attack the timber industry, you are not hitting the system where it hurts. The timber industry is only the "fist" (or one of the fists) with which the system destroys wilderness, and, just as in a fist-fight, you can't win by hitting at the fist. You have to go behind the fist and strike at the most sensitive and vital organs of the system. By legal means, of course, such as peaceful protests.

4. Why The System Is Tough.

The techno-industrial system is exceptionally tough due to its so-called "democratic" structure and its resulting flexibility. Because dictatorial systems tend to be rigid, social tensions and resistance can be built up in them to the point where they damage and weaken the system and may lead to revolution. But in a "democratic" system, when social tension and resistance build up dangerously the system backs off enough, it compromises enough, to bring the tensions down to a safe level.

During the 1960s people first became aware that environmental pollution was a serious problem, the more so because the visible and smellable filth in the air over our major cities was beginning to make people physically uncomfortable. Enough protest arose so that an Environmental Protection Agency was established and other measures were taken to alleviate the problem. Of course, we all know that our pollution problems are a long, long way from being solved. But enough was done so that public complaints subsided and the pressure on the system was reduced for a number of years.

Thus, attacking the system is like hitting a piece of rubber. A blow with a hammer can shatter cast iron, because cast iron is rigid and brittle. But you can pound a piece of rubber without hurting it because it is flexible: It gives way before protest, just enough so that the protest loses its force and momentum. Then the system bounces back.

So, in order to hit the system where it hurts, you need to select issues on which the system will *not* back off, in which it will fight to the finish. For what you need is not compromise with the system but a life-and-death struggle.

5. It Is Useless To Attack The System In Terms Of Its Own Values.

It is absolutely essential to attack the system not in terms of its own technologically-oriented values, but in terms of values that are inconsistent with the values of the system. As long as you attack the system in terms of its own values, you do not hit the system where it hurts, and you allow the system to deflate protest by giving way, by backing off.

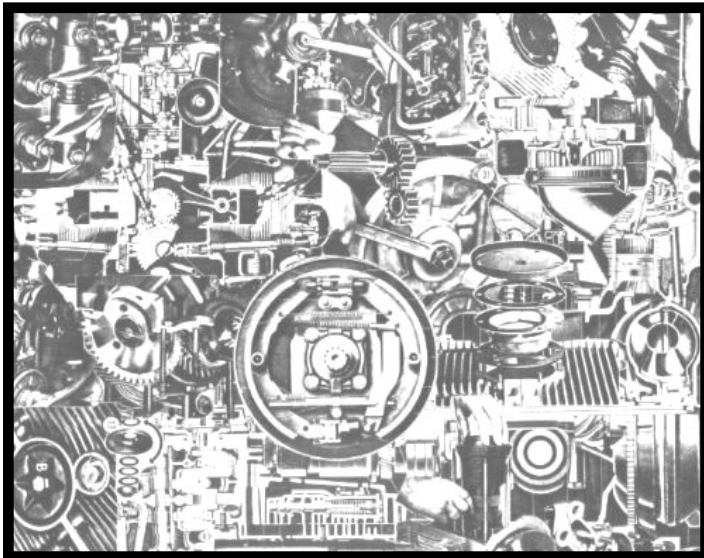
For example, if you attack the timber industry primarily on the basis that forests are needed to preserve water resources and recreational opportunities, then the system can give ground to defuse protest without compromising its own values: Water resources and recreation are fully consistent with the values of the system, and if the system backs off, if it restricts logging in the name of water resources and recreation, then it only makes a tactical retreat and does not suffer a strategic defeat for its code of values.

If you push victimization issues (such as racism, sexism, homophobia, or poverty) you are not challenging the system's values and you are not even forcing the system to back off or compromise. You are directly helping the system. All of the wisest *proponents* of the system recognize that racism, sexism, homophobia, and poverty are harmful to the system, and this is why the system itself works to combat these and similar forms of victimization.

"Sweatshops," with their low pay and wretched working conditions, may bring profit to certain corporations, but wise *proponents* of the system know very well that the system as a whole functions better when workers are treated decently. In making an issue of sweatshops, you are helping the system, not weakening it.

Many radicals fall into the temptation of focusing on non-essential issues like racism, sexism and sweatshops because it is easy. They pick an issue on which the system can afford a compromise and on which they will get support from people like Ralph Nader, Winona La Duke, the labor unions, and all the other pink reformers. Perhaps the system, under pressure, will back off a bit, the activists will see some visible result from their efforts, and they will have the satisfying illusion that they have accomplished something. But in reality they have accomplished nothing at all toward eliminating the techno-industrial system.

The globalization issue is not completely irrelevant to the technology problem. The package of economic and political measures termed "globalization" does promote economic growth and, consequently, technological progress. Still, globalization is an issue of marginal importance and not a well-chosen target of revolutionaries. The system can afford to give ground on the globalization issue. Without giving up globalization as such, the system can take steps to mitigate the negative environmental and economic consequences of globalization so as to defuse protest. At a pinch, the system could even afford to give up globalization altogether. Growth and progress would still continue, only at a slightly lower rate. And when you fight globalization you are not attacking the system's fundamental values. Opposition to globalization is motivated in terms of securing decent wages for workers and protecting the environment, both of which are completely consistent with the values of the system. (The system, for its own survival, can't afford to let environmental degradation go too far.) Consequently, in fighting globalization you do not hit the system where it really hurts. Your efforts may promote reform, but they are useless for the purpose of overthrowing the techno-industrial system.



6. Radicals Must Attack The System At The Decisive Points.

To work effectively toward the elimination of the techno-industrial system, revolutionaries must attack the system at points at which it cannot afford to give ground. They must attack the vital organs of the system. Of course, when I use the word "attack," I am not referring to physical attack but only to legal forms of protest and resistance.

Some examples of vital organs of the system are:

A. The electric-power industry. The system is utterly dependent on its electric-power grid.

B. The communications industry. Without rapid communications, as by telephone, radio, television, e-mail, and so forth, the system could not survive.

C. The computer industry. We all know that without computers the system would promptly collapse.

D. The propaganda industry. The propaganda industry includes the entertainment industry, the educational system, journalism, advertising, public relations, and much of politics and of the mental-health industry. The system can't function unless people are sufficiently docile and conforming and have the attitudes that the system needs them to have. It is the function of the propaganda industry to teach people that kind of thought and behavior.

E. The biotechnology industry. The system is not yet (as far as I know) physically dependent on advanced biotechnology. Nevertheless, the system cannot afford to give way on the biotechnology issue, which is a critically important issue for the system, as I will argue in a moment.

Again: When you attack these vital organs of the system, it is essential not to attack them in terms of the system's own values but in terms of values inconsistent with those of the system. For example, if you attack the electric-power industry on the basis that it pollutes the environment, the system can defuse protest by developing cleaner methods of generating electricity. If worse came to worse, the system could even switch entirely to wind and solar power. This might do a great deal to reduce environmental damage, but it would not put an end to the techno-industrial system. Nor would it represent a defeat for the system's fundamental values. To accomplish anything against the system you have to attack *all* electric-power generation as a matter of *principle*, on the ground that dependence on electricity makes people dependent on the system. This is a ground incompatible with the system's values.

7. Biotechnology May Be The Best Target For Political Attack.

Probably the most promising target for *political* attack is the biotechnology industry. Though revolutions are generally carried out by minorities, it is very useful to have some degree of support, sympathy, or at least acquiescence from the general population.

To get that kind of support or acquiescence is one of the goals of political action. If you concentrated your political attack on, for example, the electric-power industry, it would be extremely difficult to get any support outside of a radical minority, because most people resist change to their way of living, especially any change that inconveniences them. For this reason, few would be willing to give up electricity.

But people do not yet feel themselves dependent on advanced biotechnology as they do on electricity. Eliminating biotech-

nology will not radically change their lives. On the contrary, it would be possible to show people that the continued development of biotechnology will transform their way of life and wipe out age-old human values. Thus, in challenging biotechnology, radicals should be able to mobilize in their own favor the natural human resistance to change.

And biotechnology is an issue on which the system cannot afford to lose. It is an issue on which the system will have to fight to the finish, which is exactly what we need. But - to repeat once more - it is essential to attack biotechnology not in terms of the system's own values but in terms of values inconsistent with those of the system. For example, if you attack biotechnology,

primarily on the basis that it may damage the environment, or that genetically-modified foods may be harmful to health, then the system can and will cushion your attack by giving ground or compromising - for instance, by introducing increased supervision of genetic research and more rigorous testing and regulation of genetically-modified crops. People’s anxiety will then subside and protest with wither.

8. All Biotechnology Must Be Attacked As A Matter Of Principle.

So, instead of protesting one or another negative consequence of biotechnology, you have to attack *all* modern biotechnology on *principle*, on grounds such as (a) that it is an insult to all living things; (b) that it puts too much power in the hands of the system; (c) that it will radically transform fundamental human values that have existed for thousands of years; and similar grounds that are inconsistent with the values of the system.

In response to this kind of attack the system will have to stand and fight. It cannot afford to cushion your attack by backing off to any great extent, because biotechnology is too central to the whole enterprise of technological progress, and because in backing off the system would not be making only a tactical retreat, but would be taking a major strategic defeat to its code of values. Those values would be undermined and the door would be opened to further political attacks that would hack away at the foundations of the system.

Now it’s true that the U.S. House of Representatives recently voted to ban cloning of human beings, and at least some congressmen even gave the right kinds of reasons for doing so. The reasons I read about were framed in religious terms, but whatever you may think of the religious terms involved, these reasons were *not technologically acceptable* reasons. And that is what counts.

Thus, the congressmen’s vote on human cloning was a genuine defeat for the system. But it was only a very, very small defeat, because of the narrow scope of the ban - only one tiny part of biotechnology was affected - and because for the near future cloning of human beings would be of little practical use to the system anyway. But the House of Representatives’ action does suggest that this may be a point at which the system is vulnerable, and that a broader attack on all of biotechnology might inflict severe damage on the system and its values.

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Place The Blame Where It Belongs:

The GA Collective Respond To “HIT WHERE IT HURTS” BY TED KACZYNSKI

Although the Green Anarchy editorial collective whole-heartedly supports Ted Kaczynski as an anarchist political prisoner, we had serious reservations about running this article due to Ted’s hostility towards feminism and his casual, off-hand dismissal of other liberation struggles which he chooses not to prioritize in his own life. Racism, sexism, homophobia and poverty are not “non-essential issues” to us, as they appear to be to Ted; compulsory heterosexuality, socially-enforced sexual conformity, racism, mysogyny, and class division are all products of a hierarchical, patriarchal power structure, and none of these problems can ever be fully solved within the context of civilization. It’s not “technology, above all else, which is responsible for the current condition of the world”, as Ted claims - it’s civilization / patriarchy - and if we want to dismantle the technological megamachine that is now devouring the biosphere, then we need to understand how the megamachine came to be, what led to it’s creation, and how it serves the interests of civilization’s rulers.

We ultimately decided to print this article because Ted is a sharp strategic thinker, and because we feel strongly that more discussions like this need to be occurring in the pages of the anarchist press. At the same time, we feel compelled to say that Ted’s analysis of patriarchy and civilization is severely lacking, and we take offence to his disparaging use of the queer-identified term “pink,” which is reminiscent of the fairly overt homophobia we have seen in previous pieces by Ted, like Ship Of Fools. Simply and solely removing technology as the total liberatory answer is a limited and mechanistic approach. We face a totality of domination which oppresses all life and we need to try to see the whole picture. For anti-authoritarian transformation, many struggles are necessary and need to be respected along with an awareness of the underlying connectedness.

Of course, there can be no doubt that technology is a major link on the chain of our oppression and it’s important that anarchists / anti-authoritarians purge themselves of the liberal belief that technology is “neutral.” There are five books that we can recommend to our readers that will help get them started on the process of deconstructing their faith in and allegiance to technology. They are: **The Technological Society** by Jacques Ellul (out-of-print, but readily available in any good used bookstore), **Technics and Human Development: The Myth Of The Machine** Volume 1 by Lewis Mumford, **Technics and Civilization** by Lewis Mumford, **My Name Is Chellis & I’m In Recovery From Civilization** by Chellis Glendinning, and **Four Arguments For The Elimination Of Television** by Jerry Mander, which focuses on the destructive impact of a very specific technology but which also offers an incredibly strong critique of technological mediation - which has a much wider applicability.

9. Radicals Are Not Yet Attacking Biotech Effectively.

Some radicals do attack the biotechnology, whether politically or physically, but as far as I know they explain their opposition to biotech in terms of the system’s own values. That is, their main complaints are the risks of environmental damage and of harm to health.

And they are not hitting the biotech industry where it hurts. To use an analogy of physical combat once again, suppose you had to defend yourself against a giant octopus. You would not be able to fight back effectively by hacking



at the tips of its tentacles. You have to strike at its head. From what I’ve read of their activities, radicals who work against biotechnology still do no more than hack at the tips of the octopus’s tentacles. They try to persuade ordinary farmers, individually, to refrain from planting genetically-engineered seed. But there are many thousands of farms in America, so that persuading farmers individually is an extremely inefficient way to combat genetic engineering. It would be much more effective to persuade research scientists engaged in biotechnological work, or executives of companies like Monsanto, to leave the

biotech industry. Good research scientists are people who have special talents and extensive training, so they are difficult to replace. The same is true of top corporate executives. Persuading just a few of these people to get out of biotech would do more damage to the biotechnology industry than persuading a thousand farmers not to plant genetically-engineered seed.

10. Hit Where It Hurts.

It is open to argument whether I am right in thinking that biotechnology is the best issue on which to attack the system politically. But it is beyond argument that radicals today are wasting much of their energy on issues that have little or no relevance to the survival of the technological system. And even when they do address the right issues, radicals do not hit where it hurts. So instead of trotting off to the next world trade summit to have temper tantrums over globalization, radicals ought to put in some time thinking how to hit the system where it really hurts. By legal means, of course.

(Theodore Kaczynski retains copyright to this article)

King Culture

by Chuck A. Rock

Roll up some leaf- forget to brush my teeth
Find my relief -in my belief- nothing, is that something?
Culture is king-What will we bring-a shining prince?
Since, the time has come and gone and I am so tense.
Still tense, no prince will be my salvation-
Living in tents, living in past tense. What revolution?
No solution will end pollution except the abolition of the nation.
Industrialization is our vaccination between all relations-
The machine will try and separate the rivers and the ocean-
The machine will separate the blood from flowing to my brain-
The machine will try and dam up the river of life-
The machines will try and sell off my life-
The machines roll and roll crushing body and soul-
And what will stop this machine? A machine gun?
Will love stop it, holding hands? It is on the run.
It runs love over like a frog under a tire-
Stops your heart like a bird on a live wire-
Sire, oh King culture, why do you pick my bones?
Sire, oh King vulture, separate my meat and bones.
Sire, oh Vulture Culture, devour my flesh and leave my bones.
Sire, my oppressed instinct says your machine will sink-
And the flow of life continues after we're extinct. Think!
I am not afraid of extinction cause' I'm not afraid to die-
King Culture do you think, do you feel, can you cry?
King Culture you cannot see, cannot perceive, you haven't an eye.
King Culture do you exist? Are you the machine?
Am I you? Is this true? Am I you? Am I now machine?
Am I the king? Am I you king thing? I don't wish to be-
I want to see. I have an eye. I cry- I cry-
And the machine runs over my tears.

we must remember that all of our hearts are broken.

No Peace for the Poor

Peace they cried
From sun-tanned faces
Fattened up on granola bars
to the white maggot faces
of the steel mill kids
hanging out on the corner
There ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried
Violence begets violence
But the kids were too busy
With their moms getting beat up
And their daddies drinking and running from the law
To listen
Cause their ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried
Marching down the street
All straight and tall
Stepping over the drunken Indians sprawled
Along the hot sidewalks like dying dogs
There ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried
Walking home
To their apartments
Potted plants and prints in the hall
While all around
The war goes on
In silent insidious form
There ain't no peace for the poor. . .

- Ann Hansen
from "Writings of the Vancouver Five"